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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

March 1985

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Robert Handloff, Mary Louise Harmon, Greta Holtz, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Cheryl D. Walker.

Africa General

Benchenane, Mustapha.   Les Coups d'Etat en Afrique (Coups d'Etat in Africa).
    Paris: Editions Publisud, 1983, 191 pp.

    African countries, like those in the rest of the southern hemisphere, are
    attempting to build a state and a nation around the army. The army, the
    only organized power in many African countries, has been seen as the
    institution which could lead to political transformation and eventual
    stability. The author analyzes the political role of selected African
    armies in an attempt to understand the mechanism of the coup d'etat. On
    balance, military regimes have not been any more successful than the
    civilian governments they replaced.

Bloch, Jonathan.   "Israel's New Openings in Africa." The Middle East, January
    1985, pp. 37-39.

    Israel is seeking to regain the position it enjoyed in black Africa during
    the 1960s. Since 1982 it has extended its influence by providing arms,
    intelligence and security assistance, and economic aid. As long as African
    leaders view relations with Israel as a way of finding favor with the
    United States and as long as they believe that the threat of establishing
    ties with Israel can be used to increase Arab aid, Israeli-African
    relations should continue to improve.

Grey, Robert D.   "The Soviet Presence in Africa: an Analysis of Goals."
    Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 22, no. 3 (1984), pp. 511-27.

    This article addresses the Soviet Union's major effort to penetrate Africa
    in the mid-1970s and asks whether there was a Soviet policy for the
    continent as a whole. The author refutes the assumptions that Soviet
    leaders have predetermined objectives in Africa, or that they target states
    for arms transfers. He demonstrates that attempts to determine the weight
    of various goals from patterns in Soviet weapons transfers will be
    unsuccessful because many African states would not consider acquiring
    weapons from the East no matter how attractive the offer. Rather, the
    Soviets can realistically provide arms only to those states which request
    them and/or which are ideologically and politically willing to have them
    supplied. However, the unwillingness of the United States to meet the
    needs of African states at crucial moments has been instrumental in the
    Soviets' maximizing goals, such as gaining potential access to bases,
    winning influential political friends, and spreading international
    socialism.

Laidi, Z.   "Les Problemes de Consolidation de l'Influence Sovieteque en Afrique
    (Problems in Consolidating Soviet Influence in Africa)." Politique
    Africaine, September 1981, pp. 82-90.

    According to the author, the USSR's top priority today is the consolidation
    of its influence in black Africa. Four strategies to achieve this goal are
    identified: aid to political allies, involvement in the resolution of

conflicts, mobilization of diplomatic support, and sensitivity to economic
expectations. In the future, economic responsiblity will become an
essential component of Soviet action in Africa. To date, the Soviets are
hard-pressed to justify the weakness of their economic involvement in
Africa, but increasingly they will have to confront the economic realities
of the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence.

Nation, R. Craig, and Kauppi, Mark V., eds.   The Soviet Impact in Africa.
Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984, 275 pp.

A compilation of eleven articles on Soviet activities in Africa, including
an introduction by R. Craig Nation on the extent of the Soviet impact in
Africa. Colin Legum discusses the Soviet Union's objectives and interests
as well as those of African countries, and Nation analyzes Soviet motives
and prospects. Christopher Coker discusses the role played by Eastern
European countries, while Bernard von Plate focuses on East Germany's
African policies. Seth Singleton analyzes Soviet behavior in southern
Africa, and Joachim Krause outlines Soviet arms transfers. Other articles
by Richard Remnek, Marina Ottaway, Keith Somerville, and Mark Kauppi
include discussions of superpower competition in the Horn and the
relationship between Zimbabwe and the Soviet Union.

Obasanjo, Olusegun.   "Africa's Needs." Foreign Policy, no. 57 (Winter
1984-85), pp. 80-107.

In this critical essay on US nuclear and African policies, Obasanjo,
Nigerian head of state from 1976 to 1979, lists as Africa's most serious
problems the diversion of resources into armaments, negative economic
growth, armed conflicts--usually heightened by superpower rivalry--and the
denial of fundamental human rights. Africa, he claims, cannot attain its
full political, economic, and social potential unless the American policy
of gaining global military superiority--the repercussions of which weaken
the social, economic, and political fabric of the world-- changes. He
concludes by stating that American presidents should make policies which
will enhance the capability of Africans to cope with their own problems
instead of getting involved in local conflicts and overreacting to their
perception of Communist incursions.

Ogunbadejo, Oye.   "Africa's Nuclear Capability." Journal of Modern African
Studies., vol. 22, no. 2 (1984), pp. 19-43.

This article examines Africa's position on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation
Treaty (NNPT) in three sub-regions: Arab Africa, black Africa, and South
Africa. In the 1960s, Africans expressed a desire to keep the continent a
nuclear-free zone through the NNPT. But now this desire has yielded to the
advantages of nuclear power made possible by abundant uranium reserves and
oil wealth. The motivations behind the nuclear quest in each of the key
regions and the effects on the continent as a whole are discussed.

Opoku, Agyeman.   "Pan-Africanism versus Pan-Arabism." Middle East Review, vol.
    XVI, no. 4 (1984), pp. 5-24.

    The author hypothesizes that the two ideological-political movements of
    Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism are antithetical and ultimately cannot
    coexist on the African continent. An examination of Arab-African relations
    in the Sudan, Zanzibar, Mauritania, and within the Organization of African
    Unity reveals that relations between Arabs and Africans have been
    deplorably unbalanced to the disadvantage of the Africans. Islam is
    described as a source of negative Arab penetration of non-Arab societies.
    The imbalance in African-Arab relations is institutionalized in the
    Organization of African Unity, according to the author's analysis.

Welch, Claude E., Jr.   "Soldier or Civilian? Political Transition in Tropical
    Africa." Paper presented at the symposium African States in Transition,
    Georgetown University, 22-23 February 1985, 14 pp.

    Welch examines the soldier-civilian dichotomy in sub-Saharan Africa, using
    Nigeria as a case study, and concludes that military and civilian
    governments are not readily distinguishable, that transitions from one to
    the other can occur with minimal difficulty, and that levels of economic
    development are by and large extraneous in determing the type and nature of
    government transitions. Analytical problems arise only when a sharp line is
    drawn between that which Welch labels "professional" responsibilities of
    the military and the "political" responsibilities of civilians. In fact,
    so-called military regimes most often include civilians co-opted from
    earlier regimes, and so-called civilian governments most often include
    military officers together with civilians who depend on the armed forces
    for support. Ideally, shifts from military to civilian rule will take place
    (as in Egypt and Algeria) by the peaceful succession of military leaders
    who, over time, adopt the trappings of civilian politicians.

Welch, Claude E., Jr.   "African Military and Political Development: Reflections
    on a Score of Years, and Several Score of Studies." Issue, vol. XII
    (1984), 41-44.

    Welch traces historically the analytical treatment of the military as
    catalysts for political development in sub-Saharan Africa. From the
    hypothetical position as the vanguard in the process of political
    modernization in the early 1960s, the armed forces--especially after the
    coups of the mid-1960s--came to be seen as just one more political player
    with a role and and stake in the political process. Accordingly, the
    heuristic civilian/military dichotomy has been replaced by models based on
    degrees of political involvement. While the intervention of a
    professionalized military through the mechanism of the
    bureaucratic-authoritarian state has fostered a higher level of political
    development in Latin America, such has not been the case in Africa where
    military and non-military regimes generally appear not to differ from one
    another.

Wiking, Staffan.   Military Coups in Sub-Saharan Africa.   Uppsala: Scandinavian
    Institute of African Studies, 1983, 144 pp.

    The purpose of this study is to compare military officers' justifications
    for their takeovers of political power with researchers' explanations of
    military coups in sub-Saharan Africa. Both the military and scholars agree
    on the importance of a major external power welcoming the coup for it to
    succeed. They also agree that politicians' failures in three areas tend to
    promote military takeovers: unconstitutional or unlawful behavior, economic
    failure, and inability to cope with political opposition or political
    disorder. Strain between civilian governments and armed forces (often
    caused by the establishment of alternative paramilitary organizations or
    excessive use of armed forces for police action) was also cited by scholars
    as promoting coups, although military leaders rarely used this as a
    justification for seizing power.

Yakemtchouk, Romain.   "La Cooperation Militaire de l'Afrique Noire avec l'URSS
    et les Etats-Unis (Military Cooperation of Black Africa with the USSR and
    the United States)." Afrique Contemporaine, Oct/Nov/Dec 1983, pp. 3-22.

    This is the second half of a study on African military cooperation with the
    superpowers. This portion provides a general comparison of American and
    Soviet policy and motivation in black Africa and traces the evolution of
    superpower involvement by region. The International Institute for
    Strategic Studies in London is the source for the comprehensive tables of
    military expenditures. The author concludes that competition between the
    superpowers for influence is the prime motivating force behind military
    aid. In his view, American military aid to countries in black Africa is
    gauged according to their strategic importance to the United States. A
    state like Zaire understands this link and manipulates it to its own
    advantage.

Cameroon

Gordon, April Von Frank, and Gordon, Donald.   "Government Policy and
    Urbanization in Cameroon." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the
    International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 7 March 1985, 44 pp.

    This paper describes problems of development in Cameroon. The authors
    assert that Cameroonian development policies--largely financed by foreign
    capital over which local government has little control--distort the
    national economy and, eventually, lead to political instability. They base
    their argument on the fact that African cities developed in response to the
    administrative needs of colonial bureaucracies and not as a result of the
    push-pull of industrialization and agricultural improvements that gave rise
    to cities in industrialized countries. The skewed pattern of development in
    Cameroon is reflected in wage and commodity prices that guarantee cheap
    labor and food; an educational system that ignores rural needs; investment
    in infrastructure that promotes rather than discourages urban migration; a
    rural population that is increasingly old and female; and an urban
    population that, in the glow of rising expectations, is confronted with

unemployment, poor living conditions, and inequality. Stated objectives not withstanding, political elites in Yaounde and Douala profit from, and therefore perpetuate, the pattern. Without conscious intervention, unequal development will inevitably lead to profound divisions along class or ethnic lines and, subsequently, to economic and political chaos.

Chad

"Le Probleme Tchadien: Rappel Historique (The Chadian Problem: a Historical Review." Politique Africaine, no. 16, December 1984, pp. 9-14.

This short paper, the first of several on Chad in this issue of Politique Africaine, offers a brief historical background to the current internecine warfare in Chad. It argues that Chad's divisions are due only in part to the oft-cited cultural differences between the Sahelian Islamic peoples of the north, on the one hand, and the non-Muslims of the south, on the other. Far more important are the economic and political differences that first surfaced as a consequence of colonial policies which favored the south. Superimposed on the north-south conflict has been an equally pernicious factionalism that has plagued both north and south from 1973 to the present--Habre and Goukouni are, after all, both northerners. The paper concludes with the pessimistic view that, while the introduction of foreign (Libyan and French) troops froze military activity, this introduction has done little to promote meaningful rapprochement between warring factions or lessen the insecurities of the south.

Lanne, Bernard.   "Le Sud, l'Etat, et la Revolution (The South, the State, and the Revolution)." Politique Africaine, no. 16, December 1984, pp. 30-40.

The article examines the current conflict in Chad from the perspective of its southern region. According to Lanne, roots of the conflict lie in the unequal economic and political development that benefited the south at the expense of the north during the colonial era. Following the 1979 civil war and the accompanying attacks in the north against southern civil servants, thousands of these officials fled southward, where they in effect substituted a regional administration for the now non-existant state apparatus. Over the next 3 years factional conflicts again fragmented all major political alliances but at the same time created the conditions (especially in the south) for the emergence of leadership seeking compromise. Habre's return coupled with continued repression of southerners, however, truncated nascent efforts to repair the state. More recent attempts to reconcile the south, FROLINAT, and Habre have done little to assuage southern insecurities; and, according to Lanne, without the south there can be revolution but no state.

Otayek, R.   "La Libye Face a la France au Tchad: Qui Perd Gagne? (Libya against France in Chad: He Who Loses Wins)?" Politique Africaine, no. 16, December 1984, pp. 60-85.

The article explains Libyan intervention in the domestic politics of Chad
as a response to Colonel Qadhafi's personal needs as well as his
understanding of Libyan domestic and foreign policy objectives. Above all,
according to Oyatek, Qadhafi seeks to be recognized as a player of note on
the international scene. In the tradition of Nasserism, his intervention
has become a first step in forging a regional, Afro-Arab bloc to supplant a
virtually defunct pan-Arabism. The intervention and consequent civil war
has also served to rally a wavering population beset by setbacks against
Egypt and Algeria. Finally, having lost his bid to head the OAU and having
subsequently been challenged by France, Qadhafi considers his Chad policies
to be a major test of strength against a major power and the apotheosis of
Libyan foreign policy.

Ethiopia

Hiwet, Addis.   "Analysing the Ethiopian Revolution." Review of African
    Political Economy, no. 30 (September 1984), pp. 32-47.

    This article seeks to refute contentions by many on the "international
    Left" that there has not been a genuine revolution in Ethiopia. Much of
    the article consists of a critique of the analysis presented by Halliday
    and Molyneux in The Ethiopian Revolution. The author stresses that
    although the ruling Derg killed many leftists and destroyed the two Marxist
    organizations that existed at the time of the emperor's fall, the Derg's
    principal governing ideas, programs, and characteristics were borrowed from
    the Left. He maintains that a revolution has in fact taken place, since
    republicanism has irreversibly replaced monarchism. Hiwet describes the
    current regime as the "disavowed political child of the Left."

Horn of Africa

Gencheng, Liang.   "U.S. Policy Toward the Horn of Africa." Northeast African
    Studies, vol. 6, nos. 1-2 (1984), pp. 41-59.

    Liang Gencheng, who is affiliated with the University of Peking, goes over
    well-covered ground in this analysis of US policy towards the Horn of
    Africa. He distinguishes four phases in US Horn policy since the fall of
    the Ethiopian emperor in 1974. He makes the point that both the Soviet
    Union and United States wish to gain influence in the region and that
    instability in the area benefits Soviet interests but is detrimental to US
    interests. The author forsees continuing US efforts to improve military
    power projection capabilities in the region.

Petras, James F., and Morris H. Morley.   "The Ethiopian Military State and
    Soviet-US Involvement in the Horn of Africa." Review of African Political
    Economy, no. 30 (September 1984).

    This article discusses Soviet and US involvement in the Horn of Africa in
    relation to Ethiopia and the Eritrean conflict. The authors contend that
    the Soviet-Ethiopian relationship is opportunistic and may not have an

enduring impact on Ethiopian society because the relations are almost
exclusively state-to-state. In examining US relations, they conclude that
although Reagan's stance is more aggressive than Carter's, the way is being
left open for a rapprochement with Ethiopia.

Phillips, James A.   Ethiopia's Kremlin Connection. Heritage Foundation:
    Washington, D.C., 1985, 11 pp.

    This monograph explains the Horn's strategic importance and gives a
    chronological account of Soviet involvement in the region. In the short
    introduction and conclusion the author calls on the United States to
    strengthen its relations with Sudan, Somalia, and Kenya as well as with
    Ethiopian opposition movements because "U.S. influence in the Horn has
    waned dangerously." In his view, Soviet expansion in the area will spread
    inexorably if the United States does not take strong measures to check it.
    He recommends that the United States work with Ethiopian oppostion groups
    until Ethiopia is weaned from Moscow. He also suggests that the United
    States take advantage of the famine crisis to persuade Ethiopia to abandon
    its Marxist economic policies.

Mauritius

Houbert, Jean.   "Mauritius: Independence and Dependence." Journal of Modern
    African Studies, vol. 19, no. 1 (1981), pp. 75-105.

    Mauritius differs from the newly independent countries of Africa in that
    its economy, society, and polity were all entirely created by European
    colonization which formed the fabric of the whole society. Decolonization
    was merely a rearrangement of the internal balance of political power. The
    author presents a detailed analysis of the island's economic and political
    growth, and discusses how the British were viewed less negatively than the
    owners of the sugar industry--Indians and creoles--who dominated and
    exploited other Mauritians more thoroughly than the British. Independence
    was not the outcome of a national liberation struggle, but a slow process
    in which the British sought to perpetuate existing economic arrangements.
    The author concludes that Mauritius remains inevitably dependent on Europe,
    but within that dependence there has been significant developmental growth.

Mozambique

Munslow, Barry.   "State Intervention in Agriculture: The Mozambican
    Experience." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 22, no. 2 (June
    1984), pp. 199-221.

    The ineffectiveness of FRELIMO's agricultural policies in Mozambique had
    become increasingly apparent by the early 1980s. Although droughts and
    floods, a constant state of war, and the world recession could be blamed
    for some of the problems, shortcomings in planning and policy
    implementation were also factors in the poor agricultural performance.
    Beginning in 1982, the emphasis shifted from the state farm sector to

cooperatives and the family sector. This study discusses the history of
FRELIMO's intervention in the agricultural sector and identifies the
factors which motivated a change in strategy.

Nigeria

Othman, Shehu   "Classes, Crises, and Coup: The Demise of Shagari's Regime"
    African Affairs, vol. 83, no. 333 (October 1984), pp. 441-61.

    This article maintains that class conflict was the cause of the coup that
    toppled the Shagari regime and rejects alternative explanations based on
    ethnic strife or rivalries within the armed forces. Properly viewing the
    state as a source of wealth as well as power, Othman asserts that
    commercial--as opposed to entrepreneurial--interests supporting Shagari
    appropriated policymaking positions within the administration to the
    supposed detriment of a smaller group of northern entrepreneurs, known as
    the "Kaduna Mafia." Shagari's removal follows from what is essentially
    intraparty conflict between the "Mafia" and other groups also represented
    in the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). The link between the Kaduna Mafia
    and the military putschists is not made clear. While hardly a class
    analysis, the paper includes interesting material on Nigerian politics,
    particularly on the purported link between the Kaduna Mafia and such NPN
    rivals as the People's Redemption Party and Awolowo's Unity Party of
    Nigeria.

South Africa

Coetzer, Piet.   Awaiting Trial: Allan Hendrickse. Alberton, S.A. :Librarius
    Felicitas, 1984, 208 pp.

    A short biography of Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, this book
    chronicles the early experiences of this colored spokesman, particularly
    his detention without trial in 1976, which is dealt with in great detail.
    It gives substantial information on his family life and discusses his lack
    of bitterness after being personally affected by the laws of apartheid.
    The book is adulatory, and it is clear that Coetzer planned it as a boost
    for Hendrickse, his party, and the new constitutional dispensation.

Mandy, Nigel.   A City Divided: Johannesburg and Soweto. New York: St. Martin's
    Press, 1984, 447 pp.

    An account of the origins, development, and prospects of Johannesburg and
    Soweto. The author sees the white and black areas of South Africa's major
    urban nexus as unitary, although riven by deep political and socio-economic
    divides. The book is divided into five parts: history, racial issues, the
    parallel growth of Soweto, the concept of Greater Johannesburg, and methods
    of management. The author's observation that black-white polarization in
    the city is the product of the apartheid ideology which became legislated
    in group areas, influx control, and business restrictions is hardly

original, but his delineation of this process provides new detail on South
Africa's urbanization.

State of War: Apartheid South Africa's Decade of Militarism.   London: COSAWR,
    1984.

    This pamphlet, written and published by the Committee of South Africa War
    Resisters (COSAWR), is a study of the process of militarization and its
    effects. It addresses the links between army and police in South Africa and
    the merging of their functions, as well as the domestically manufatured
    weapons used by the regime. Also discussed are cooperation with other
    countries for the development of nuclear energy, and the potential for the
    manufacture of nuclear weapons. The pamphlet describes the complex
    structures of white civil defense and gives an account of the brutality of
    the regime in the war in Namibia and against the Front Line States.

Welsh, David.   "Constitutional Changes in South Africa." African Affairs, vol.
    83, no. 331 (April 1984), pp. 147-62.

    The recent constitutional changes in South Africa which allow for limited
    participation by Indians and coloreds in the legislative branch of
    government have been seen as a step to the evolutionary disintegration of
    apartheid and the beginning of the political participation of all racial
    groups. The author stresses that the new dispensation further entrenches
    white rule and is a form of redesigning racial separation to sever links
    between the African majority and Indian and colored minorities. The new
    constitution provides a formula whereby the colored and Indian communities
    are given political rights in such a way that white control is not
    jeopardized, and is even strengthened. The article gives an excellent
    historical background of the factors which precipated the constitutional
    changes and provides insight into the thinking and political maneuvering of
    the dominant Afrikaner political leadership.

Southern Africa

Gutteridge, William.   "Military Developments in Africa," in Brassey's Defense
    Yearbook. London: Brassey's Publishers, 1984, pp. 105-22.

    The author broadly outlines some of the recent military developments in
    southern Africa (specifically in Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and
    South Africa). The greatest threat to the security of the entire African
    continent, according to the author, lies in the complexities of the
    relationship between South Africa and its immediate neighbors. Solutions to
    such complexities are not likely to be forthcoming in light of the emphasis
    placed by the current regime in South Africa on military rather than
    political or economic solutions to regional problems.

Pisano, Vittorfranco S.   "Conflict in the Southern Africa Region: The Terrorist
    Component." Clandestine Tactics and Technology, vol. X, no. 8 (1984), pp.
    1-6.

    This short but detailed report discusses the actors and sources of tension
    in the southern African region. It gives a brief history of the creation of
    guerrilla organizations such as the African National Congress and
    Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa, FRELIMO in Mozambique, and UNITA
    in Angola. The report presents a good synopsis of the types of terrorist
    acts used by the various groups and the impact such actions have had in
    maintaining tension in the region.

Sudan

Mawson, Andre.   "Southern Sudan: A Growing Conflict." The World Today,
    December 1984, pp. 520-27.

    The author, an anthropologist, provides a useful, informative summary of
    the current internal conflict plaguing Sudan. He stresses the perceptions
    and reactions of the southern Sudanese to the policies of President Ja'faar
    Numeiri. These southerners feel that the major economic schemes--notably
    the Jonglei Canal and the petroleum exploration in South Kordofan--are
    projects designed to divest their region of its natural resources. The
    harshest southern response has been to Numeiri's policy of Islamization.
    Although Numeiri has reassured southerners that Islamic law will not be
    applied to them, they nevertheless harbor misgivings. Southerners view the
    drive towards Islamization as another manifestation of the north's
    insistence on domination, without regard to the religious identity and
    political needs of the south. Until the southern conflict is resolved,
    Sudan will remain in an internal crisis.

Zaire

Callaghy, Thomas M.   The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative
    Perspective. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, 515 pp.

    A study on attempted state formation and the state-society struggle in
    contemporary Zaire under the rule of Mobutu Sese Seko. The author contends
    that many of the problems faced by African rulers are similar to those
    present in Europe in the 16th through 18th centuries and in post-colonial
    Latin America. These problems include conflict over the location and
    distribution of political power and economic resources as well as the
    struggle between the emerging state structure and societal and external
    groups for power, sovereignty, and resources. He concludes that while
    Mobutu has achieved an absolutist state and established order out of chaos,
    he has not improved the lives of the Zairean people.